

842 dialect, it is: "to copulate," iruja, juḡreli, while "father" is uḡinko;
 833 but one refers rather to sexual relations by the term ḡikiḡikiḡi, whose
 197 evocative value is reinforced by an appropriate gesticulation. This
 term corresponds, in the other dialects, to the compounds uḡinkuḡiḡu
 (a), iekejakātige (b), "to copulate with rhythmic movements."
 Likewise, in the western dialect, "to copulate" is expressed by
aiḡore, even though the demonstration evoked at the beginning of
 this paragraph uses the term ninfḡore.

842 We have not been able to elucidate clearly the indigenous theory
 of conception (conceive: uḡetnḡdige, b; from uḡette, "child"). It
 implies apparently that the sperm coagulates in the uterus and pro-
 gressively forms the child. The man alone would play a positive
 role while the woman would be reduced to that of a simple receptacle.
 Nevertheless, the woman is held responsible for sterility, whether
 it be attributed to a particular condition or to age.

834 It is difficult to say if the numerous prohibitions attached to
 842 sexual relations have as a conscious end to assure conditions favorable
 to reproduction, or if they depend on more remote beliefs. The first
 hypothesis is hardly credible, for the Nambikwara are not very eager
 to have children. The quest for food is too hard, too difficult, to
 permit the care of several children at the same time, especially when
 they are still incapable of taking care of themselves; and especially,
 during the nomadic period a woman cannot carry more than one
 nursing child, besides the heavy basket. Thus the first steps of the
 child are impatiently awaited. At any rate, several prohibitions
 have, as a definite goal, the limitation of sexual activity. Besides
 the prohibition of incest (1), it is not good to copulate "moonlit

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1. The prohibition concerning incest is formulated as follows:

(7) ḡyaāde takenāāde tamḡndige manhatte (b)

for a sister and brother to copulate is bad

● [684]

but it does not seem that the infractions are punished
 other than by collective disapproval. A very equivocal
 attitude concerning a couple (A71 and a72) and the use,
 in their regard, of kinship terms communicated with
 repugnance, and manifestly contradictory to the system,
 makes one believe that it could be a case of parallel
 cousins. We have not been able to find a sure case of
 incest between blood relatives.

836 who seem to be susceptible to violent passions. We knew an Indian who fled with a Pareisi Indian girl during our stay, and lived with her for several months hidden in the bush and fleeing the husband who was in hot pursuit after them. Here is the way an informant (B15) tells of a former adventure. He reconstructs a dialogue with the beloved woman:

51. ajndarinjē — otendnjē — ajdotēha ajdaknjanjini sutnadajē
ajha[ta]sijndige tamintednjē (b1)

Do you want to make love? --I do not wish to. --You are worth nothing! I want to make love or I will kill you! Let us go make love.

Very anxiously the woman responds:

- higekanhjē uairirē uairidednjē etjēdahē dung,rajeni (b1)

Do it quickly, my husband will be angry, he will beat me.

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There is no social sanction against adultery; but the wronged husband can avenge himself in a fearful manner and in circumstances of this type poison, used either against the wife or against the lover, plays its role. In order to avoid such incidents, the companions intervene between the adversaries and counsel the seducer to disappear for a while:

52. ijehetnjē ajkyakatednjāni ekyude ekyude ekyude ekyude
ekyude ekyude ekyude ekyude kajadodni uajknoreniani (b1)
Go away. --I am going far away. --When this moon is ended and that one, and that one, and that one, and that one, and that one, and that one, and that one, then, in that one, you may return.

We knew an Indian (C11) whose wife disappeared one day, having left with a member of his group. He thought first of revenge, but his companions intervened, and it was finally decided that the lover should keep the wife and would give him a dog as compensation. Several months later, the lover died (we were not able to find out whether the death was normal or accidental), and the woman returned to her husband, who said he was very happy to have acquired the dog [562] also. This story should not be interpreted in the sense of an equivalence, conceived by the Indian spirit, between a woman and a dog. We have insisted too much on the fundamental role of the woman in Nambikwara [102] life to have to return to that here. But in groups where trade [112] exists in such a primitive form (1) exchanges of goods have as a

684 conscious function the bringing of psychological compensations
626 incommensurable among themselves, rather than for establishing
183 equivalences of value.

764 The Nambikwara have two types of burial. The eastern
184 groups practice double interment. The bodies are first placed in a
crouching position (āriṇaerekiritu, a1) in a circular ditch
(sinitakurisu, a1) seven feet deep heaped up with earth and branches.
For two months, they sing, dance and weep around this provisional
tomb, until the body is decomposed. Then the bones are carried to
the river where they are carefully washed. Then they are carried in
[768] a cloth to be permanently buried in the village. The village is then
abandoned, but the site is often visited:

53. āregande aṇunikere kadukōrage laudrige ende ende ende
inare inaretajre ṣinoribate (b1)
to dig the grave, to close it, to wait one moon, one
moon, one moon, to take out the bones, to bury them
in the village.

In the central groups, on the other hand, the bodies would be
buried (aoṭenikere, b1) in a prone position (iṭtarige, b1).

The funeral rites distinguish between movable goods and im-
movable goods. The first are carefully destroyed; they break and
burn the weapons; they unravel the beads and necklaces.

[768] The garden of the dead man, if he cultivated one, is, how-
ever, only abandoned, and can be reclaimed later:

54. doṣore durige adrede autadatige audotahāmdige audotaāmdē
odeneheṛe odunhinde niaotumnie narainidande naraṣdurige
aṣṣedugeṣottige den den den nagiade aṣe dugṣotige
tiaugṣotige (b1)

The arrows are broken, everything must be broken the
beads are unstrung, the beads of the deceased, the fields
of the deceased are abandoned one moon, one moon, one
moon, and when all is forgotten, another takes the field.

423 Yet it is necessary to avoid confusion on this point. Strictly
speaking, there is no land property among the Nambikwara. The
chief invites his men to group together to cultivate the gardens, but
sometimes such and such an individual decides to clear a field on his
own account. These personal appropriations do not give rise to any
incidents since the cultivatable land is usually far larger than the
collective needs. However, a garden represents a value, because
of the considerable amount of work spent in clearing it, especially
for people who have never seen metal tools until 30 years ago. Also
the rule of destruction of the goods of the deceased respects the

tainship is not hereditary; the chief, when old or sick, designates his successor from the ablest men of the group. The chief's authority is slight; it depends wholly on the good will of the family heads. 622

Relations between neighboring bands are inspired both by fear and by the desire to exchange goods. Warfare, therefore, is closely connected with barter. Groups not acquainted with each other use ritual speech when they meet. 619 438

Before starting a war expedition, a divinatory rite is performed with special songs and dances. An arrow is hidden by the shaman, the outcome of the expedition being presaged by its appearance the following day. 721 787

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—After the delivery of a child, the placenta is buried in the bush and both parents are subjected to rigid prohibitions concerning food, the use of ornaments, and social contacts. 844

Puberty.—The initiation rite for young men consists of piercing their lips and nose and giving them their adult personal name. At her first menstruation, a girl is isolated for several months in a special shelter outside the village, where she is given ritual food by her mother. At the end of the rite, she takes a long bath in the river; this also constitutes the first step of the marriage ceremony. 481 [304]

Both cross-cousin and avuncular marriages (see p. 367), are often planned by parents for their infant children. Marriage is celebrated by festivals, banquets, and dances. The union is pronounced by the chief. Fish and fishing are important both before and during the ceremony. 584 585

Separation is frequent, the chief cause being that the man seeks a younger and prettier woman. There is no social sanction of adultery, except that the seducer is advised by his companion to go away for a while so as to avoid the husband's revenge. A murderer also flees vengeance. 586 684 682

Death.—Some groups of *Nambicuará* bury their dead in a circular pit, the corpse being placed in a crouching position. Others leave the corpse to decompose in an elongated ditch and later wash the bones in the river, put them in a basket, and bury them in the village, which is then abandoned. Weapons, implements, adornments, and other property of the deceased are destroyed, but his garden—if he owned one—is abandoned only for a few months. Later anybody may cultivate it. 764

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Art.—Most *Nambicuará* groups are completely ignorant of drawing, although some groups decorate calabashes with dots and straight and sinuous lines. These are conventionalized reproductions of realistic designs found among other groups. 531